

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 MONROV 02166 310024Z

ACTION AF-08

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C O N F I D E N T I A L MONROVIA 2166

E.O. 11652 N/A

TAGS: SHUM, PFOR, PN, LI

SUBJECT: DISCUSSION WITH FOREIGN MINISTER ON AFRICAN PROBLEMS

REF: (A) MONROVIA 2075, (B) MONROVIA 2095, (C) STATE 064050

1. ON MARCH 25 I DISCUSSED THE HUMAN RIGHTS REPORT AND POSSIBLE GOL INITIATIVES WITH REGARD TO THE KATANGAN INVASION OF ZAIRE WITH FOREIGN MINISTER DENNIS (REFTELS A AND B). DURING THE SAME CONVERSATION DENNIS DISCUSSED THE RELATIONSHIP AMONG TANZANIA-UGANDA-KENYA; BENIN; WESTERN SAHARA; ARAB VERSUS U.S. AID TO LIBERIA; SOUTHERN RHODESIA; AND PODGORNY'S VISIT TO AFRICA. THE FOREIGN MINISTER WAS BRIEFED ON RECENT DEVELOPMENTS RELATING TO OUR PANAMA CANAL NEGOTIATIONS, AS DESCRIBED IN REF C. A SUMMARY OF DENNIS' COMMENTS NOT COVERED IN REFTELS A AND B FOLLOWS:

### 2. TANZANIA-UGANDA-KENYA

DENNIS SAID THAT HIS RECENT TRIP TO EAST AFRICA WAS MADE IN ORDER TO CARRY PRESIDENT TOLBERT'S USUAL ADMONITION IN MATTERS SUCH AS THESE THAT THE DISPUTANTS "EXERCISE RESTRAINT." DENNIS COMMENTED THAT HE FELT KENYATTA WAS NOT ENTIRELY AT FAULT BECAUSE OFTEN HE DID NOT KNOW THE SITUATION WELL NOR WAS HE ABLE TO TRAVEL. DENNIS SAID THAT IT WAS TRUE THAT KENYA HAD BENEFITED MOST FROM THE COMMUNITY. ACCORDING TODENNIS, NYERERE TOLD HIM  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 MONROV 02166 310024Z

THAT "EVEN GOD COULD NOT PUT THE COMMUNITY TOGETHER AGAIN. AND IF GOD DID COME DOWN FROM HEAVEN, KENYATTA WOULD THINK THAT MAO HAD SENT HIM." DENNIS SEEMED IMPRESSED BY NYERERE'S OBSERVATION THAT BOUNDARIES ARE MAN-MADE AND NOT DESIGNED AND BESTOWED BY GOD. ANOTHER QUOTABLE QUOTE DENNIS BROUGHT BACK FROM HIS TRAVELS WAS THE OBSERVATION THAT "COMMUNISM HAD BEEN CONCEIVED IN GERMANY, BORN IN RUSSIA, MATURED IN CHINA, GREW

SICK IN TANZANIA AND DIED IN ETHIOPIA."

3. BENIN

IN DISCUSSING THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE OAU COUNCIL OF MINISTERS IN LOME, DENNIS COMMENTED THAT IN THE BENIN AFFAIR, MOROCCO DID HAVE A MOTIVE FOR ACTION AGAINST BENIN BECAUSE OF THE LATTER'S SUPPORT FOR ALGERIA OVER WESTERN SAHARA. "BUT I HAVE NO EVIDENCE," HE ADDED. DENNIS THEN MUSED ABOUT THE IMPORTANCE OF HAVING BASES AND - IN WHAT APPEARED TO BE A POINTED ASIDE - SAID THAT "YOU HAVE YOUR CIA AND YOU KNOW WHETHER OF NOT IT IS EASIER TO OPERATE WHEN YOU HAVE BASES FROM WHICH TO DO SO." DENNIS CONCLUDED THAT, WHATEVER THE FACTS, THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE BENIN AFFAIR WAS THAT IT WAS HARMFUL TO AFRICAN UNITY.

4.SOUTHERN RHODESIA

DENNIS STATED THAT ALTHOUGH THE GOL CONTINUES TO SUPPORT THE FRONT LINE STATES, IT DOES NOT NECESSARILY FEEL THAT THE LATTER HAVE ALL THE ANSWERS. THE PROBLEM OF SUPPORT TO THE PATRIOTIC FRONT IS HANDED FROM ONE OAU MEETING TO ANOTHER, AND IT IS IMPORTANT THAT THERE TAKES PLACE A REAL SUMMIT AT LIBREVILLE IN JULY IF ANY DEFINITIVE UNIFIED APPROACH IS TO EMERGE. DENNIS SAID THAT THE CHOICE IS BETWEEN A MILITARY SOLUTION AND A POLITICAL SOLUTION IN WHICH ALL PARTICIPATE, WITH THE GOL PREFERENCE CLEARLY STILL FOR THE LATTER.

5. TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AND ZAIRE

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 MONROV 02166 310024Z

DENNIS SAID THAT THE GOL TAKES PRIDE IN ITS SUPPORT OF THE TRADITIONAL PRINCIPLES OF NON-INTERVENTION IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF OTHERS AND OF TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY, AND OBSERVED THAT THE PRINCIPLES ARE NOT BEING TREATED WITH SANCITY. "AND", HE ADDED, "SOME OF MY COLLEAGUES ARE NOW TELLING NE THESE PRINCIPLES HAVE THEIR LIMITATIONS IF A REGIME IS NOT PROGRESSIVE. IF YOU DON'T HAVE A PROGRESSIVE REGIME, THEN CERTAIN ACTIONS MIGHT NOT BE CALLED INTERFERNCE. MAYBE THAT IS WHAT WE SEE IN ZAIRE. ANYWAY, THAT'S WHAT PEOPLE SAY." ( I ASKED DENNIS WHO IS TO SAY WHO IS PROGRESSIVE, BUT HE LET IT PASS.)

6. WESTERN SAHARA

DENNIS REVIEWED THE WESTERN SAHARA QUESTION AS IT HAD BEEN TREATED AT OAU MEETINGS, NOTING THAT ALTHOUGH ALGERIA HAD MAJORITY SUPPORT AT THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS MEETING IN MAURITIUS, THE GOL HAD ABSTAINED WITH ONE OR TWO OTHERS. DENNIS SHOWED CONSIDERABLE PERSONAL PRIDE IN THE LEADERSHIP THAT THE

GOL HAD TAKEN IN SUCH MEETINGS AND EMPHASIZED THE IMPORTANCE OF LIBERIAN DIPLOMACY IN AFRICAN AFFAIRS AS A MODERATING INFLUENCE. HE STRESSED ALSO THAT RESULTS WERE FAR EASIER TO ACHIEVE IN OAU MEETINGS WHEN THE CHIEFS OF STATE WERE PRESENT, WHILE NOTHING, ON THE OTHER HAND AND WITH SOME CONCERN, THAT THE SPLIT AMONG OAU MEMBERS OVER ANGOLA PERSISTS ON OTHER MATTERS.

7. ARAB AID

DENNIS REVIEWED THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRESENT AFRICAN-ARAB RELATIONSHIP AND THE AFRICAN HOPE THAT "OUR ARAB BROTHERS CAN PLOUGH A LITTLE EXTRA CASH OUR WAY." HIS MAIN POINT, HOWEVER, WAS CLEARLY THAT NATIONS LIKE GAMBIA, GUINEA AND MALI WILL BENEFIT MOST FROM ARAB ASSISTANCE WHILE THE GOL IS EXPECTED TO LOOK TO THE U.S. FOR SUPPORT. DENNIS THEN BROUGHT OUT A COPY OF JET AND QUOTED IT TO THE EFFECT THAT THE U.S. HAS BEGUN TO

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 MONROV 02166 310024Z

IGNORE PRESIDENT TOLBERT AND TO FOCUS RATHER ON THE MORE RADICAL LEADERS. (I INTERRUPTED TO ASSURE HIM THAT THIS WAS TOTALLY UNTRUE.) DENNIS DESCRIBED HIS MEETING IN CAIRO WITH PRINCE FEISAL AND SAID THAT THE PRINCE HAD ACCEPTED IN PRINCIPLE AN INVITATION TO VISIT LIBERIA. HE CONCLUDED THAT THE GOL DID NOT KNOW HOW MUCH IT WOULD GET FROM THE ARABS AND THAT "WE WILL CONTINUE LOOKING TO YOU."

8. PODGORNÝ'S VISIT

DENNIS APPEARED CURIOUS CONCERNING WHAT EFFECT THE PODGORNÝ VISIT WOULD HAVE ON THE ZAIREAN SITUATION AND APPEARED TO FEEL IT WOULD EXACERBATE THE PROBLEM. I TOLD HIM WE STILL HOPED TO KEEP GREAT POWER RIVALRIES OUT OF AFRICA.

CARTER

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